1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AL4

In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kashmiri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer. It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20¼	Rs. weight, or	¼th.
Brown wool	...	5¼	„	$\frac{1}{16}$th.
Common wool	...	54½	„	$\frac{11}{16}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children. Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather. The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Proportion of the sexes.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Houses and furniture.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Gh...a on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

233 Chapter IV, B. — Live-Stock. Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

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For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

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Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Chang-tang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some
439 *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the
462 domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the th[illegible]s of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
467 is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[293] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[457] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear